

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 09343 01 OF 02 131211Z

15

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 IO-14 EUR-25 NEA-10 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 DRC-01 /149 W

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 538

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 21

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9343

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: PRESENTATION OF ALLIES THEMES

BELOW IS TEXT OF FRG STATEMENT ON FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES AND
COMMON CEILING SCHEDULED FOR DELIVERY IN PLENARY MORNING OF
NOVEMBER 13. THIS STATEMENT IS ONE OF THE SERIES OF DEVELOPMENTS
OF THE ALLIES POSITION LEADING UP TO THE PRESENTATION OF A
FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

STATEMENT MADE BY THE HEAD OF THE DELEGATION OF THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY DURING THE PLENARY MEETING OF NOVEMBER
13.

1. DURING THE PRECEDING PLENARY SESSIONS, COLLEAGUES OF
MINE HAVE DEVELOPED SEVERAL ASPECTS OF OUR APPROACH TO THE
SUBJECT MATTER OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS. I REFER TO THE PRESENTATIONS

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 09343 01 OF 02 131211Z

MADE BY MY NETHERLANDS COLLEAGUE ON THE AGREED OBJECTIVES

OF THE NEGOTIATIONS - ENHANCED STABILITY AND STRENGTHENED SECURITY - AND THE CRITERION OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY WHICH WE HAVE ALL ACCEPTED; BY MY GREEK COLLEAGUE ON THE INTERESTS OF SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS; AND BY MY BRITISH COLLEAGUE ON THE MAJOR DISPARITIES IN THE EXISTING SECURITY SITUATION OF CENTRAL EUROPE, INCLUDING THOSE FORCE ELEMENTS ON YOUR SIDE WHICH ARE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO US.

2. ON BEHALF OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS, I SHALL TODAY BEGIN A PRESENTATION OF OUR GENERAL PROPOSALS FOR DEALING WITH THE ISSUES DESCRIBED BY MY COLLEAGUES. I SHALL BEGIN BY EXPLAINING WHY WE ARE PROPOSING THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS FOCUS ON REDUCTION OF GROUND FORCES. IN PARTICULAR I WILL ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF THE DISPARITY IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER, AND PROPOSE MEANS OF DEALING WITH THIS DISPARITY IN A WAY THAT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO ENHANCED STABILITY AND STRENGTHENED SECURITY THROUGH BRINGING ABOUT PARITY IN THIS RESPECT. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE MANPOWER DISPARITY IS THE ONLY DISPARITY WHICH WE SHALL HAVE TO ADDRESS IN DETAIL BUT IT IS ONE TO WHICH WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE.

3. IN LIGHT OF THE PROBLEMS WE HAVE DESCRIBED, WE PROPOSE THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES AND THEIR COMBAT CAPABILITY. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF WEIGHTY REASONS FOR THIS. GROUND FORCES CONSTITUTE THE LARGEST SINGLE ELEMENT AMONG THE FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THIS IS TRUE IN THE NUMERICAL, PHYSICAL AND ECONOMIC SENSE. THROUGHOUT HISTORY IT IS GROUND FORCES WHICH HAVE PROVED TO BE OF DECISIVE POLITICAL AND MILITARY IMPORTANCE. THEY ARE A RECOGNIZED CRITERION FOR MILITARY STRENGTH. WITHOUT THEM, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, TERRITORIES CAN NEITHER BE SEIZED NOR HELD, NEITHER INVADDED NOR DEFENDED. THEY ARE BASIC TO ANY SUSTAINED MILITARY EFFORT, THIS IS AS TRUE TODAY AS IT EVER WAS. GROUND FORCES ARE TODAY THE MOST CONSPICUOUS ELEMENT OF THE EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE. A REDUCTION AGREEMENT COVERING GROUND FORCES WOULD THEREFORE BE WIDELY WELCOMED AS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

4. WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES LOOM ESPECIALLY LARGE IN OUR EYES
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SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 09343 01 OF 02 131211Z

AND THOSE OF OUR PEOPLES BECAUSE OF THEIR COMBAT CAPABILITY, PARTICULARLY THEIR HEAVY ARMoured POTENTIAL, AND THEIR SHEER SIZE. WHEN WE SPEAK OF FORCES WHICH CAUSE US PARTICULAR CONCERN BECAUSE OF THEIR OBJECTIVE CAPABILITIES, IT IS THESE GROUND FORCES WITH THEIR LARGE NUMBERS OF MEN AND TANKS, WHICH ARE UPPERMOST IN OUR MINDS.

5. TO FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES IS THUS NOT ONLY LOGICAL BUT

ESSENTIAL IF WE ARE TO CARRY OUT THE TASK WHICH ALL PARTICIPANTS HAVE COME HERE TO ACCOMPLISH. FOR THIS REASON, THE NEGOTIATIONS OUGHT TO GO STRAIGHT TO THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM. IT IS ON THE ONE HAND THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE COMPONENT IN THE PRESENT MILITARY SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE; AT THE SAME TIME FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES OFFERS A CHANCE OF APPROACHING THE COMPLEXITY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN A MANAGEABLE WAY. INDEED, ALL PARTICIPANTS RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF SUCH A PRACTICAL APPROACH DURING THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS EARLIER THIS YEAR WHEN AGREEING IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF 28 JUNE THAT "IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AN UNDERSTANDING SHOULD BE REACHED TO CONDUCT THEM IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ENSURE THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND THOROUGH APPROACH TO THE CONSIDERATION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER WITH DUE REGARD TO ITS COMPLEXITY."

6. IF THE NEGOTIATIONS FAILED TO FOCUS ON GROUND FORCES, THE PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE ACTING CONTRARY TO THIS RESOLVE. TO ATTEMPT TO TACKLE THE WHOLE RANGE OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE WOULD BE A TASK OF OVERWHELMING COMPLEXITY. SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD DIVERT THE NEGOTIATIONS FROM THEIR MAIN TASK AND RISK DELAYING AGREEMENTS INDEFINITELY.

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 09343 02 OF 02 131033Z

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 VIENNA 9343

FROM US REP MBFR

7. MY BRITISH COLLEAGUE HAS ALREADY EXPLAINED OUR CONCERN WITH DISPARITIES IN THE SIZE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF GROUND FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND IN GEOGRAPHY. TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE A WORKABLE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE DISPARITY IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA.

AMBASSADOR ROSE DREW ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THE EAST HAS SUBSTANTIALLY MORE GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THIS AREA THAN THE WEST. THIS IS A FUNDAMENTAL DISPARITY WHICH INEVITABLY CAUSES US SERIOUS CONCERN.

8. MANPOWER IS RIGHTLY AND GENERALLY TAKEN AS ONE OF THE MAIN YARD-STICKS FOR COMPARING GROUND FORCES. IT REMAINS AFTER ALL TRUE THAT EVEN IN OUR TECHNOLOGICAL AGE, THE TRAINED SOLDIER IN A STANDING ARMY CONTINUES TO BE A BASIC ELEMENT OF MILITARY READINESS AND STRENGTH. WITHOUT HIM, EVEN THE MOST SOPHISTICATED MILITARY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 09343 02 OF 02 131033Z

EQUIPMENT WILL NOT WORK.

9. IT IS FOR ALL THESE REASONS THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO ADDRESS OURSELVES TO THE DISPARITY IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE TO ELIMINATE ENTIRELY THIS DESTABILIZING DISPARITY. WE PUT THIS PROPOSAL FORWARD NOT AS A COMPLETE ANSWER TO THE DISPARITIES PROBLEM BUT AS A SOLUTION TO ONE IMPORTANT DISPARITY. IT WOULD THUS BE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE AGREED OBJECTIVES OF ENHANCED STABILITY AND STRENGTHENED SECURITY FOR ALL PARTIES CONCERNED.

10. WE THEREFORE PROPOSE THAT THE MANPOWER ISSUE BE RESOLVED THROUGH ESTABLISHING PARITY IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING FOR GROUND FORCE MANPOWER ON EITHER SIDE IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THIS WOULD MEAN AN AGREEMENT TO REDUCE MANPOWER ON BOTH SIDES AND TO MAINTAIN NO MORE THAN AN AGREED EQUAL NUMBER OF SOLDIERS ON EACH SIDE.

11. THIS PROPOSAL FOR A COMMON CEILING IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER DOES NOT IN ITSELF ADDRESS THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE DISPARITIES IN GEOGRAPHY AND IN THE CHARACTERISTICS OF FORCES WHICH MY BRITISH COLLEAGUE HAS POINTED OUT. WE WILL ADDRESS THESE IN DUE COURSE. THE MANNER IN WHICH REDUCTIONS TO A COMMON CEILING SHOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED WILL HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GROUND FORCES, INCLUDING THEIR COMBAT

CAPABILITIES, AND OF GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS. BUT AGREEMENT ON A COMMON CEILING IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AT LOWER LEVELS WOULD BE AN ESSENTIAL CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS ACHIEVING THE COMMON GOAL OF BRINGING ABOUT A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP, THE AGREED OBJECTIVE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH A RESULT WOULD BE FAIR AND EQUITABLE; IT WOULD SERVE THE INTEREST OF BOTH SIDES.

12. THE RESULTING RELATIONSHIP IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER WOULD INDEED BE CONSISTENT WITH THE CRITERION OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY SINCE IT WOULD ADEQUANTLY MAINTAIN THE DEFENSIVE CAPABILITIES OF EACH SIDE. REDUCTIONS WHICH DID NOT REDUCE THE MANPOWER DISPARITY WOULD RISK JEOPARDIZING THE SECURITY SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE THROUGH AGGRAVATING THE EXISTING IMBALANCES. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE DISPARITY IN MANPOWER IS ULTIMATELY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 09343 02 OF 02 131033Z

ELIMINATED THROUGH A COMMON CEILING WE WILL TRUELY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TOWARDS STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE.

13. AGREEMENT ON OUR PROPOSAL WOULD BE A REALISTIC, FAIR AND LASTING SOLUTION TO A MAJOR ASPECT OF THE SECURITY PROBLEM IN CENTRAL EUROPE. A COMMON CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER WOULD BE A MAJOR ELEMENT IN AN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE MUTUAL OBJECTIVES OF ENHANCING STABILITY AND STRENGTHENING PEACE IN EUROPE. SUCH AN OUTCOME WOULD INDEED BE A DECISIVE CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE LARGER GOAL OF IMPROVING EAST-WEST RELATIONS TO A DEGREE WHERE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE WOULD TEND TO REPLACE DISTRUST; WHERE PRESENT FEELINGS OF INSECURITY WOULD GIVE WAY TO A SOUNDLY BASED SENSE OF SECURITY.
END TEXT.HUMES

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